THE
Hindu Message

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

Editor: T. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar, B.A. Registered Ne. M. 1304·

Vol. XII., No. 3.] Registered No. M. 1304. THURSDAY MAY 24, 1923. [Price : 2 As. Annual Subscription. 6

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The Hindu Message stands for

(1) Self-Government for India within the British Commonwealth,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual b sis and

(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Cultre.

Annual Subscription, Including Postage Rs. 6 only.
Single copy As. 2 only.

The Editor will be pleased to consider manuscripts if accompanied by stampedand addressed envelopes. He accepts no responsibility, however, for manuscripts submitted to him.

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A Vsion of Inda.

INDIA'S PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.,

O noble city! sacred, vast and bright!
What memories around thee fondly cling?
Our fancy through the ages wandering
Flees fascinated by thy beauty's light.
Though round thy ancient king's Oblivion's night
Observes their stories' far off glimmering,
Thy youth eternal causes wondering
And shines with crescent sweetness on our sight.
Perennial is the love's sportiveness
Of Siva here in his auspicious mood
Revealing unto all supernal grace.
Minakshi here doth all devotes bless
In her divine and gracious maidenhood
And rules this town through all the changing days.

A ong of Super-Life.

By an Indian Dreamer.

XVIII

I feel the dawn of an inner spring. A new warm breath hath come from heaven and my hearts' winter hath gone.

Soft tremors of sweetness thrill in and through me.

The blossoms of speech and song have shone out in my mind and flowered on my lips.

I am drenched with the glory of the spring.

XIX

I move towards Thee urged by an inner force.

My life is one continuous worship of Thee.

I feel that you are drawing near me far quicker than the speed of my soul to Thee.

I almost hear the marriage bells that will ring at the bridals of the soul and the Over-soul.

Events of the Week.

We deal in our leading columns this week with the duty that lies so heavy on the A. I. C. C. which meets tomorrow at Bombay. We are indulging in no figure of speech when we say that this country stands today in the face of a very great peril, which cannot now be adequately measured. Mr. Sastri spoke, in an unconscious moment perhaps, of Kenya being the acid test of Imperial citizenship. We have no means of ascertaining whether Mr. Sastri envisaged at that moment or even now does envisage the implications in that categorical statement of his. Yet to readers of the daily sheets it would have long been apparent that Kenya is in fact the acid test of imperial citizenship. The White races that compose this far-flung and unfree Empire have, it must be said to their credit, realised the gravity of the issue in Kenya. So that all of them are alert, the latest cable being that a representative of the Convention of Associations in Kenya has proceeded to Australia to enlist the sympathy of the Premier in the manful struggle they are keeping up in Kenya to preserve the God-ordained right of the Britisher to act the policeman of the world and the special providence of the Afrikander in particular. The problem in Kenya has been stated and restated in the Indian press. It may, in view of the urgency of the problem, be permissible to state at least the human factor thereof. Kenya includes three elements in its population—the White settlers, numbering about 9,500 who, owing to climatic considerations, can only be birds of passage with a single eye to the exploitation and virtual elimination of the natives in the delightful process which is yclept civilising them; the Indians number about 22,000; and native Africans variously estimated and in any case numbering not less than two and a half millions.

* * *

Now the new stunt in the country is that the Whites have a sacred trust to discharge towards the natives, which is in danger of being nullified by the increase of the Indian element in such proportions as may well nigh swamp both the African and the British. On the face of it this trusteeship is a fraud. The extermination of the aboriginal races wherever the White race has gone on in its civilising mission and the more recent example of the Blondel tribes in what was German West Africa must bring a blush of shame to those who prate nonsense about Trusteeship. And in Kenya itself we have the evidence of an English writer that, when the Indians advocated the redress of native Africans, "unarmed African men and women who demonstrated in sympathy were massacred".—The same that happened to the Blondels who refusad to slave for their White benefactors. The spokesmen of India have time and again iterated their conviction that they do not want to jeopardise the interest of the natives. None but the White planter with his inordinate greed and racial pride would have refused to abide by the Indian offer of a via media that the natives be offered the franchise. And it is a curious trusteeship whereby all land is shut out both to the Indian and the native African—for between both of them the White settler is pretty impartial—and grudgingly spends 6d. per head on native education; and the whole burden of the administration is borne by the native African and the Indian settler.

* * *

So much for trusteeship: but if this piece of camouflage be pierced through the settlers are not unprepared. They have another and a more formidable string to their bow. They will inflame the passions and prejudice, of Christian England which always reserves its righteous wrath for the heathen who dares poach on its reserve. Christ who rebuked casting Satan by Beelzebub is here served by ordained messengers of Himself who are a disgrace to the principles and practices of their Master. A Dr. Arthur of Kenya let himself go and was followed by an Archdeacon who might be Arch-anything. It is a credit to the religion that Indian Christian Council disowned this exhibition of crass hatred by ordained representatives of the meek Christ. As if this were not enough, a Lord Bishop butted in and is having his innings from far away Uganda.

* * *

This brings us to the crucial point. The Lord Bishop is a keen student of affairs, one apparently of the creed of statesmen-theologians who drew Rome across the mire at the bidding of their master, Mammon, whom they had set up an altar for in their hearts. It was not of the Church Eternal that these esteemable men have been thinking. They thought of the caste and the race they belonged to: and that their privileges and rights to drive a coach aud four through the liberties of the natives were in question by the scions of another dependent race. So all the Whites are up in arms. And leaders of opinion who ought to know better point to the incipient revolt in Kenya and South Africa as a result why the Indians in Kenya should be given over to worse than Egyptian bondage. Flushed with recent victory, they do not stop a while to think if it is politic to hold before India the spectacle that right must give way before might which knows its mind and is determined to enforce its will at the point of the disruption of Empire. That way leads to the shattering of this Empire, of which only the other day Mr. Lloyd George indulged in a panegyric. The ironic laughter of the Gods has not been slow in coming. All the indications are that the Indian rights in Kenya are to be sold ignominiously and then will rise a great and aweful issue for this country, All parties and factions in this hapless land are pledged up to the neck to maintain the rights of the Kenya Indians: and an adverse decision now would surely mean a new orientation in the Indian attitude towards an Empire which gives them all the kicks and reserves all the six pences to men of its own racial group. That is the crisis which, we said, the A. I. C. C. ought to envisage and draw up its programme so that the country may meet effectively.

* * *

The *New Statesman* writes in its issue of April 21:—The delegates are new assembling at Lausanne for the resumed Peace Conference which is to begin on Monday. Bar accidents, a settlement should be reached this time though it looks as if a good deal of patience and tact may be needed. The Turks have not shown any disposition to give way regarding the judicial status of foreigners or on the economic clauses of the draft treaty. A new complication indeed, has been added by the ratification at Angora of the "Chester concession." Under this concession large rights are granted to a group of American financiers for the construction of Railways in Anatolia (and outside it, for Mosul is one of the termini mentioned), the rebuilding of Angora on the model of Washington, and the exploitation for minerals of a wide belt of land on either side of the railway, The French have protested vehemently on the ground that this conflicts with a railway concession acquired by them in 1914, and also, it is alleged, with the Franklin-Basillan treaty. But the French case is a bad one: their concession was never ratified by the Turkish Parliament and the War wiped it off the slate. So far as this country is concerned, there is no ground for objecting to the Chester concession. If Anatolia is to be developed—and why should it not be, if the Turks wish it?—the Americans are as capable of doing the job as anybody. The French in their present financial position, are probably not capable; they could only play the dog in the manger. It may be that the programme is a trifle too ambitious at the moment for a bankrupt Turkey, and we do not want to see her plunging into a sea of extravagance. But we have no right to drive her back into the arms of the French financiers. It is to be hoped that no false ideal of loyalty to the "united front" will lead our representatives into such dangerous courses. If the Turks are denied their legitimate freedom, there will be no peace signed at Lausanne.

Meanwhile Turkey shows a grim determination to get rid of all foreign interference with her trade and industry. An instance in point is the latest decree of the Turkish Government prohibiting operations for the supply of foreign coal. Further it is proposed to form a Turkish commercial union which will control all branches of trade and industry. There will be another organisation to control the operations of the exchange. New banks under Government auspices will be opened. All this shows that Turkey is alive to her economic needs and is bent, not so much on elimination of foreign capitalists but on saving herself from foreign economic exploitation. We dare say there will be an exhibition of flaming wrath in capitalist circles and the bogey of vested interests and concessionaires will be set up to defeat Turkey coming into her own. But the odds are eminently in Turkey's favour.

The Hindu Message

Dharma and Life—Part. II.

XIV. Marriage and Sexual Morality.

It is easy to see that the dignity of the marriage tie and the enjoyment or production of its most valuable fruits for the individual and the race cannot be secured without the observance of chastity in the *strictest form* by both husband and wife. According to the Hindus marriage has two direct aims :—(1) *the preservation of Vedic Dharma.* In order that this aim may be achieved, the wife has to remain *constantly* by her husband's side as his *Dharmapatni*, his indispensable companion and helpmate in all the duties enjoined on them ; (2) the *preservation of the race in its purity.* Without this purity, the social conditions and the mentality or instincts needed for the faith of the individual in the efficacy of Dharma cannot exist. It is often said that such grounds of chastity are purely artificial and cannot but fail and get discredited with the growth of intelligence and civilisation and the spread of an enlightened and reasoned faith in regard to all matters of importance to social well-being. Hence, also, we find that Westermark has, after a full investigation come to the conclusion that "irregular connections between the sexes have, on the whole, exhibited a tendency to increase along with the progress of civilisation." We consider that, where the growth of intelligence or civilisation, so-called, undermines ethical conduct and racial purity, the society has reached the last stage of degeneracy, where marriage is contracted out of the mere sex-needs of men and women, or from the love of money, or of social elevation, and the marriage-tie does not result in the bestowal of the two-fold blessing above-mentioned and is only maintained in outer seeming out of the fear of public opinion and "hardens down into a dull neutrality in which lives and characters are narrowed and blunted, and deceit becomes the common weapon which guards divided interests" (as Carpenter has pointed out in his picture of the ordinary run of western marriages), we can only have an unnatural and conventional chastity,—a chastity based on fear and compulsion, an unreality and a farce. In India, marriage is not contracted out of any of the motives just referred to, nor is it maintained out of any purely secular or social considerations. Marriage is not a civil contract, but a *sacrament*—one of the 40 *samskaras*, or purificatory rituals which are performed on men and women to fit them for the preservation of racial purity and the performance of Dharma so as to attain to everlasting bliss through the realisation of the Supreme Self pervading man and nature. In verses 18—21 of the Bhagavata-Purana (III. 14) Kasyapa, in a dialogue with his consort Diti, makes a fine address to the "*Grihesvari*," which sets forth the Hindu ideal of the faithful and loving wife. Kasyapa says that to him who wishes for eternal happiness the wife is, as it were, the other half of his body—for, without her by his side, he can perform none of those sacred duties (Dharmas) on which the order of the universe depends ; with her loving co-operation on the other hand, he can control his senses and discharge all the material burdens, and satisfy all the wants, of life here. Hence, Kasyapa says .—"To such a benefactor (*i.e.*, the dutiful wife) we are unable to make a full and adequate return of benefits either in this life even when protrated to its full term of years, or in future lives". A united life of *mutual love* in its maximum of attainable perfection is *implied* in the Hindu conception and ideal of marriage. For, though it is not the direct and ultimate purpose of marriage, love, as we have pointed out at the very outset, accompanies it at every stage from its commencement in the father's gift of his girl through every transaction in which the husband and wife are engaged in their subsequent joint wedded life. Love is, in fact, a gracious incident or divine gift growing stage by stage and from moment to moment, and feeding and developing that determined chastity which alone can ensure to the wedded pair a life in which all trials and tribulations can be endured with firmness and all the noble and generous fruits of Dharma can be gathered in so as to end in the fruit of the innermost bliss of the realisation of the Atman. The love and chastity of which we are here treating can be ensured when the marriage entered into is such as to produce a sense of responsibility to each other in both parties. This sense of responsibility can only arise from the feeling that they are answerable to a higher authority for the part each has to play in the fulfilling of the duties—common to both or particular to either party,—resulting from marriage. The payment of a fine, or the loss of social reputation involved in a conviction and sentence by a Court and the imprisonment following it are, without doubt, useful as deterrents in many cases, but cannot be regarded as effective for the growth of a sense of a *truly moral responsibility.* Such abstention from evil is based on a calculation of consequences, and so utilitarian in its intent and motive. Havelock Ellis says :—"A man who marries for money or ambition is departing from the biological and moral ends of marriage." Further "We have a morality which applies to the sphere of sex. But that morality is one which belongs mainly to the sphere of property and is very largely developed on a property basis." It has also a physiological basis in love, at the very least in sexual desire." These *economic* and *physiological* bases of marriage *cannot constitute sexual morality*, though they may act as aids or conditions contributing to its growth. The sexual morality of the west is rightly called "pseudo-morality,"—and hence it is no

wonder that "free unions outside legal marriage" and "trial marriages" are daily on the increase. Havelock Ellis says :—"There is no doubt at all of the pronounced tendency witnessed at the present time to dispense as long as possible with the formal ceremony of binding marriage."

In India, on the other hand, marriages do not take place either from economic or physiological considerations. As already more than once stated, the responsible parties are always governed only by considerations relating to the preservation of Dharma and to that purity of race which is essential to the efficacy of Dharma in preserving the order of the universe *(loka-sangraha)* and in helping forward the spiritual advance of the Jiva—the reincarnating individual or soul—towards the final goal of God-realisation and self-realisation. *Pre-puberty marriage* ensures the absence, in the girl married, of the utilitarian consideration of economic independence, and in both the parties—who, ordinarily, are very young—of the physiological consideration and motive of sexual desire. On the other hand, from the very moment of marriage, there commences a series of Vedic sacraments or ritualistic acts of purification in which both husband and wife take part. In course of time, both husband and wife become conscious that, as their union was "made in Heaven," so they have dedicated themselves to the due fulfilment of these divine and Vedic injunctions for their common spiritual welfare and advancement in the future life, for the maintenance of the solidarity of the universe (*loka-sangraha*), and for the production and leaving behind them of children *(Dharma-praja)* who, in their turn, will continue the work and function entrusted to the race by the divine will as revealed in the Vedas. Here we have what can be truly called *moral responsibility*,—for the relationship of marriage is undertaken without any selfish or material motives, and its burdens are borne—though the consciousness of it arises only after the wedded pair have reached the years of discretion and not when they are yet unripe—from the purely spiritual considerations already mentioned. There is thus clearly nothing carnal in Hindu Marriage. If any economic and physiological motives develop themselves later, they are merely incidental to, and not indispensably connected with, the gaining of the high and holy aims which are usually held in view in bringing about Hindu marriages.

Ellen Key has said :—"Only erotic idealism can arouse enthusiasm for chastity." This is usually true only of marriages which have their origin in sexual passion and desire ; and it is certain that, only in rare cases, and in one only of the parties,—the passion can rise to the romantic heights which Ellen Key has in view when she speaks of "erotic idealism;" and such cases can only occur in a system of marriage in which, as in the West, it is possible for women "to realise the effect of their admiration of the experienced and confident man who knows women," or a "shy and hesitating youth has been struggling hard for erotic purity in the hope that a woman's happy smile will be the reward of his conquest." Hence it is no surprise to us to be told that "complete abstinence during youth is not the best preparation for marriage in a young man. Women divine this and prefer those of their wooers who have already proved themselves to be men with other women" (Freud's *Sexual* Problems). Further, Havelock Ellis truly says :—"The art of love can only be learnt by actual experience,—an experience which our social traditions make it difficult for a virtuous girl to acquire with credit." Hence it is no wonder that, as the same writer points out, "even with the best equipment, a woman, under present conditions, enters marriage at a dis-advantage." It is no wonder, too, that De Gourmont holds that "love is a delicate art for which, as for painting or music, only some are apt." In most cases, either women have willingly to get themselves sacrificed to "the egoism, lordship, and physical satisfaction" of men or "the woman, too wise to sacrifice her own life indiscriminately to the egoism of her husband, and not caring for the *festoon* method, adopts the middle course of *appearing* to minister to him while really pursuing her own purposes." (Edward Carpenter in his "Love's Coming of Age.") Men, too, often feel the cramping and fatal boredom of marriage, and to many it is a bugbear to be avoided and an ordeal in which you are condemned to a weary life-long association with another person to the sacrifice of all outside personal interests.

In the Hindu system, on the other hand, chastity is ensured not only by the slow and steady growth of the seed of love early planted in the pure and unsophisticated minds of both the parties at the time of marriage while yet they are young and immature, but the growing sense of moral and sacramental responsibility to each other bred by the consciousness that their union (*Grihasthasrama*) has been brought together by Heaven not only for his own divine purpose of maintaining the order of the universe, but also for the achievement of their own advance towards spiritual perfection and enlightenment. It is these merits of our system—merits secured, chiefly, with the aid of the regulations laid down by the omniscient Rishis of old—that have preserved it in all its essentials and in its purity through the course of ages, though time has not failed to leave its mark, for the worse, on some of its features. It is these same merits that have largely helped to preserve women's chastity in India and the advantages arising to the Hindu family from its preservation. Sir Thomas Munro said of the conditions of Hindu society in his own time :—"*It will be an honour to the ladies of England if it can be said of them that they are as chaste as the Brahmin women and the Hindu women of the higher classes.*"

While we still retain in India largely unimpaired these essential merits of our system of matrimony, responsible writers in the West are known to speak of "the growing proportion of adult unmarried women whose sexual relationships are unrecognised by the state and largely unrecognised altogether." What is even worse is that, under present conditions in the West, "while the modern man has to some extent acquired feminine qualities, the modern woman has to a corresponding extent ac-

quired masculine qualities" (Havelock Ellis). This unnatural process of unsexing the sexes in quality, and hence also in work or occupation (*guna* and *karma*) has become inevitable in the West chiefly owing to the growth of the aspiration among Western women after social freedom and economic independence. God save India from a transformation so dire in its consequences and a civilisation so subversive of the divine order, natural law and ethical intent. There are advanced Hindus, so-called, who, in season and out of season, depreciate or denounce the spiritual import of our Dharmic regulations and indulge in extravagant laudation, of the greatness of Western civilisation. They know precious little of the more deep-seated tendencies of that civilisation and the ethical and spiritual ruin which is threatening Western society. The recent world-war and its devastations which threaten to endure for ever are only some phases or symptoms of the deep and undoubted rottenness of that civilisation. Let not our new men behave like moths which blinded by excess of lamplight, rush to their ruin in the burning flame in front.

The Impossibilists.

The All-India Congress Committee is due to meet tomorrow at Bombay: and it is a welcome step that Mr. Das and the particular brand of politicians he leads have decided when they have announced their intention to participate in the proceedings. An onerous duty rests upon members of the A. I. C. C. and we should pray—in spite of our differences with the Congress—that the only vital political representative body in this country may be granted wisdom to discharge its duty by the country at the tremendous crisis that faces it today. We deal elsewhere in this issue with the prospective menace with which we are now faced in this country. It is sufficient here to emphasise that the Congress itself stands face to face today with a crisis in its history. Mutual recriminations do not help us over much now: and we would not be far wrong if we ascribe the present parlous state of political activity in the country to the wrong twist given to Congress politics by impossibilists of all shades.

We may at the outset disown any sympathy with the new-fangled party which Mr. Das is leading or seeks to lead. The only thing about it that is formidable, or rather was, is the number of hyphens that go to make up the party. In fact it is an extremely hyphenated party: and the hiatus in the views of many of its chosen representatives can only be connected by hyphens, meaning in themselves nothings. The arguments by which they buttress up the necessity of now capturing the Councils show how shortsighted or cowardly these great statesmen were in earlier years. Or probably they have not studied the beautiful reforms under which we now live. The truth is these men do not believe the doctrines they preach. There is no good trotting out the well worn facts about the sacrifice of these leaders. That way leads to confusion of thought and is the parent of absurdities. If sacrifice should entitle the Das-Nehru faction to subvert the whole programme of the Congress, why should the like sacrifices on the part of die-hard N. C. Os. be entitled to less consideration? If sacrifice, which we do not begrudge the minority leaders the credit for, should bespeak the validity of their present reasoning, does it not by a parity of reasoning stand to be affirmed in a still greater degree of the men of the majority? We do not think any one will demur to this proposition. The Das-Nehru faction have not so far adduced a single weighty argument in favour of entering the Councils which was not advanced in the height of the compaign—and by Mr. Das himself at the Calcutta special session, if we are not wrong—and which the country then summarily rejected, the country we mean represented by the Congress, with its democratic four-anna franchise. We therefore have very strong suspicions, not of the sincerity of the minority leaders, for, that is transparent—but of the new orientation in Congress policy they advocate.

The minority speak with diverse voices. Mr. Das now and then shakes out nebulous statements about the sort of Svaraj he wants, of which the latest is the promise of a proletarian revolution. Entering the Councils is the single constructive proposal they have on their cards: and of the purposes they will seek the Councils to serve there is a woeful lack of precision in their talk. All is nebulous. Mr. Das and certain others will formulate what they call the People's Demands: and if the Government is recalcitrant—the if shows a lamentable want of appreciation of political actualities—they will straightaway act as if they were so many bulls in a china shop. This is somewhat picturesque and depends on many other considerations, not the least of which is the command of a working majority for the party in each of the Councils of the country. Others there are who are certainly out to co-operate, though after the heroics of the past few years they naturally shy at the terms. The Maharashtra party are certainly candid: they will in Tilak's words get their eight-anna share and rigorously agitate for the other help that is their due. Mr. Das has been dangerously coquetting with this idea: and we had speeches that had to be elucidated by press communiques and press communiques elucidated by speeches. In Madras, as we had occasion to hint in our notes some short time ago, the Dasites are only a more vocal wing of the Moderates. The observer must not be misled by the abuse of Moderates by which these minority leaders salt their speeches in the countryside. A policy of obstruction *pur et simple* has no attractions for the calculating Madrassis we are led to infer. It is such a divergent host that Mr. Das is so confident of leading into action. The novelty of their present position, the respect they still obviously attach to the Congress makes them hold the language of orthodox politics, but Time will gather them up in the capacious folds of the Liberal Abraham. It is a pity they have not yet envisaged the future except in the light of transient interests, and that they should be so much wedded to a single panacea or that they should seek to break away from the Congress, which is implied in all this fanfaronade.

The like Impossibilists hold the field in the majority camp. When we had occasion in August last to write on political tactic in immediate reference to the labours of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, which was then in our midst, we remarked that the famous triple boycott had failed and failed miserably. The only plank in the Congress programme that is still seriously untried, we then wrote, but has got a glamour for many romantic souls is the revolutionary expedient of Civil Disobedience. And we also said that the very basic conditions laid down by the leaders of the Congress for launching on mass civil disobedience were incapable of fulfillment, that the Congress must consign the pet doctrine of non-violent civil disobedience to the dungheap and have recourse to more well-tried methods of political action. Many events have happened since we last wrote which go to confirm our position that non-violent civil disobedience is an absolute impossibility, an impracticable proposition, and that those who talk of its feasibility either do not know what they are talking about, or in their evangelistic and fanatical fervour have deluded themselves into believing in its practicability. The Statement advanced by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari on Saturday about the necessity for starting civil disobedience is only flouting the experience so far gained. We do not wish to detract from the peculiar merit which is imputed to sacrifice and suffering. Such sacrifice and suffering in the immediate past has only resulted in stagnation and stupor, as some members of the local Congress Committee are themselves disposed to admit. The meteoric rise of the Salem soi-distant social revolutionary to the position of leadership has been contemporaneous with the Congress departing from all principle of political prudence. We agree with our new Mahatma that a Special Congress is a waste of time and money, which only manifest stupidity can make itself responsible for. But Mr. C. R. Chari is landing himself in too deep waters when he advances the preposterous argument that since the Gaya Congress, the country has been prepared for intensive civil disobedience, even if it be individual and that

therefore the next step was clear. Where the Salem leader gets his facts from we do not know. There is a sort of philosophy which denies the existence of the Sun. It is the philosophy of the blind. So also there is an owl philosophy in our midst which shuts it eyes to facts that cry aloud. But he spoke a true word when he talked of the indecision prevalent, only it is not in the country, it is in the ranks of Congressmen, much more in the majoriry than in the minority.

Indecision, yes deficient flexibility and adaptability for action and a lack of resoluteness—these have been the banes of Congress propaganda. And it is earnestly to be hoped that in view of the increasing tension in our public life under the reaction of external stimuli, the All-India Congress Committee will decide once for all what is to be the programme of the Congress. There is no good in ostrich-like hiding of one's head in the sands. An encouraging sign of the times is the number of resolutions passed by a majority of Congress organisations in the country indicating a waning belief in the sovereign virtues—or at any rate in the practicability—of civil disobedience and an insistent need for closing up the ranks of Congressmen. The fault of the sanctimonious leader of the majority is that he does not realise the obvious truth that readiness for the fight need not display itself by the immediate taking up of arms. The resoluteness of those who never waver as well as those who are sometimes over-ready to calculate consequence can both manifest itself in every form of the struggle for Svaraj. It is the duty of the All-India Congress Committee and the chosen leaders of the people to find out a formula which will readily embrace both sections of the Congress. Were there a mind disposed to arrive at it, we do not think it impossible to contrive some such formula. The Congress ought to be able to combine fearless resolution and unqualified fidelity to the ideal of Svaraj with the utmost flexibility and adaptability; with the qualities that are necessary for the adoption of all means that will lead to the desired end; with the faculty for yielding in one place and fighting through in another, for making compromises here while resisting to the uttermost there; with the readiness to yield to circumstances in one place, while in another, even when all seems lost, we can keep our heads on our shoulders and stand on our ground. This is a difficult art which it is a great pity the leaders have not learnt in the struggle of the past three years: and the apparent inertia and stupor in Congress circles is really due to the failure to learn this art. Instead, the majority still go on mumbling the same old platitudes which, now that it is not the Mahatmaji's voice that gives utterance thereto, strike one as a theatricality. The true leader of men ought to be able to forget "most valuable" experiences whenever a situation arises to which they do not apply. That a situation of the kind has now arisen cannot be denied. The paralysis of the administrative machinery of which we had thunderous newspaper "guff" and sonerous speechifying is still far away. True the prestige of the Government is waning: but the citadel is still in their hands—the mock Councils where pseudo-representatives constitute themselves the tail of the official corps. The minority do well therefore to insist on capturing them—it is a bitter pill for the Congress certainly. But the swallowing thereof is now vital for the future of Indian nationalism, it having been the fault of the Congress of 1919 to have with easy abandon assumed that there was one clear way out of our present degraded condition. The Congress so far had been engaged in partial fights only against the administrative system, and no wonder its victories have been also partial and indecisive. The majority apparently forget that in a period like the present when conflicts are continually occurring and recurring, the Congress may at any moment be called upon to wage a decisive struggle for power along the whole front and to lead the fight with that rigour and resoluteness which alone can secure victory. And it is the height of an unseeing stupidity to ignore the Councils in the country in this connection. You must meet the administrative machinery in every one of its innumerable ramifications so that, whether you fail in this branch or in that, the general revolt against the system should be kept up. We should be sorry to impute cowardice of thought and action to any of our innumerable Mahatmas. But should they shirk a right decision on the Council entry question—the majority speaking inanities and the minority going the way of a discredited Liberalism—we can only conclude they have not the courage to face the administrative machinery in action where it is subtle and exerts an unseen but admittedly deleterious influence on the intelligentia. We mention the Council entry question, apart from other planks, as a test question which the Impossibilists have made it to be. To us it is a test question in an essentially vital regard—as it is important that the Congress should control these Councils also.

Now, a tactic of this kind presupposes an iron discipline. Nobody will contend that the Congress has any such discipline in the ranks. The melodramatic and vicarious penitence of leaders in sackcloth and ashes now and again indicates the utter lack of discipline in the party. The lack of it is in part an indication that the party has been cursed with an inept leadership; and in part, again, it is the chief excuse for most of the mistakes hitherto made. Without such an iron discipline effective action is impossible. True, we shall have the croakers telling us that an iron discipline can set neither the masses nor the party in motion unless the necessary conditions exist. To which the obvious answer, not less effective therefore, is that the other necessary conditions do not alone suffice; an iron discipline is itself one of the necessary conditions.

We have set forth with somewhat of detail the responsiblities that lie so heavy on the All-India Congress Committee that meets tomorrow at Bombay. It may not be amiss to gather up what we have said above, in a few sentences. To translate theory into action is the most difficult thing in the world. This is true of all theories and all activities. At the present moment it is particularly true of the non-violent non-co-operation movement. Where action is not the result of a carefully considered policy it may lead to defeat, and where fear of defeat delays or prevents action this may even lead to greater disaster. The conditions of our politics and national life today are responsible for a crude, narrow realism and the reactions against these conditions for a somewhat hazy impracticable idealism as well. The need of the hour is that both should be fused into one movement which would contain both driving force and vision.

The influence of money power on the Press in England, in one of its not very respectable forms, is seen in the change in the editorship of *the Nation and the Athenaeum* since its proprietorship changed hands. Mr. H. W. Massingham, who had been its editor for over 16 years and had left on it the imprint of his personality, is succeeded by Mr. H. D. Henderson. The paper is appearing now as a sixpenny weekly, and its directors are Mr. W. T. Layton, editor of the *Economist*, Mr. J. Maynard Keynes, the author of *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* and other works, Messrs. E. D. Simon and G. H. Gilpin. The *Nation*, under its new proprietors is to be the organ of the new school of Liberalism which is replacing the old and which, we believe, is symbolised by the Summer School movement.

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We have extracted elsewhere in this issue the valedictory article written by the staff Mr. H. W. M. has gathered round himself, Mr. Massingham himself being now away ill in the country. Mr. Massingham therefore is the third Liberal Journalist to join the ranks of famous editors who are not wanted, Mr. J. A. Spender formerly editor of the *Westminister Gazette*, and Mr. A. G. Gardiner, formerly editor of the *Daily News* being the other two. All three men are brilliant writers and are in the forefront of British Journalism. There is something rotten in the state of that journalism when men of their calibre are unwanted. The commercialisation of the Press goes on unabated; and the influence which financial magnates exert on newspapers not only brings the printed work into contempt, but by a reaction against the poisoning of the springs of public opinion will do harm to the financial magnates themselves.

Social and Religious

The Bhagavad Gita.

With an English Exposition
By K. S. RAMASWAMY SASTRI, B.A., B.L.
(The substance of the lectures delivered at the Students' Sanatana Dharma Sabha, Trichinopoly.)

ADHYAYA X.

(*Continued*)

सर्गाणामादिरन्तश्च मध्यं चैवाहमर्जुन ।
अध्यात्मविद्या विद्यानां वादः प्रवदतामहम् ॥ ३२ ॥

I am the beginning, the end and the middle of all manifestations, O Arjuna; of all sciences I am the science of the Self; and of the methods of argumentation I am *Vada*.

NOTES

1. वादः— Vada, jalpa, and vitanda are various forms of argumentation. The latter two are means of conquest of opponent while *Vada* is the means of investigation and establishment of Truth.

अक्षराणामकारोऽस्मि द्वन्द्वः सामासिकस्य च ।
अहमेवाक्षयः कालो धाताहं विश्वतोमुखः ॥ ३३ ॥

Of letters I am the letter A; of compounds I am the Dvandva; I am imperishable Time; and I am the despenser of fruits of actions and I face and cognise everything.

NOTES

1. The Sruti says:—अकारो वै सर्वा वाक् ।
2. *Dvandva*—In that compound both elements preserve their individuality, whereas in others the individuality of one element is less than that of the other.
3. अक्षयः कालः—Another meaning is that he is the deathless Kala who is the काल (end) of काल (Time), Himself being endless. Siva is known as Kalakala.
4. विश्वतोमुखः—He is in relation to everything. Sri Venkatanatha says that the word means Brahma or Hiranyagarbha who has four faces. Sri Ramanujacharya gives the same meaning.

मृत्युः सर्वहरश्चाहमुद्भवश्च भविष्यताम् ।
कीर्तिः श्रीर्वाक्च नारीणां स्मृतिर्मेधा धृतिः क्षमा ॥

I am the all-devouring death; I am the auspiciousness of those who deserve prosperity and among women I am Kirthi, Sri, Vak, Smrithi Medha, Dhriti, and Kshama.

NOTES

1. कीर्तिः etc., mean also fame, prosperity, speech memory, intelligence, endurance and forgiveness, But the words refer to certain presiding goddesses. (*Saktis*).

बृहत्साम तथा साम्नां गायत्री छन्दसामहम् ।
मासानां मार्गशीर्षोऽहमृतूनां कुसुमाकरः ॥ ३५ ॥

Of Samas I am Brihat-Sama; of metres I am Gayatri; of months I am Margasirsha; and of seasons I am the flower-time season.

Notes

1. Sri Madhusoodana says that the Lord chose Margasirsha because it is free from execessive heat or cold and brings in good things to be eaten.
2. Another reason is that worship in that month brings greater results than worship at other times.

कोदण्डस्थे सवितरि प्रत्यूषे कमलापतेः ।
सहस्रवार्षिकीपूजा दिनेनैकेन लभ्यते ॥

3. Another reason is that long ago the year began with the Margasirsha month just as it now begins with *Chaitra*. Margasirsha is called also *Agrahayana* i.e. the beginning of the year. In the Amarakosha the enumeration of months begins with it.
4. It is a very difficult question as to when the year according to Indian computations began with Margasirsha. Tilak has discussed the question elaborately in his *Orion*. Amara-Simha says that the seasons comprise two months each, beginning with Magha, and that three such seasons make an *ayana*. The Mahabharata describes Bhishma as lying on his bed of arrows waiting for the northward course of the Sun to begin in Magha. Tilak says "There is thus sufficient independent evidence to show that before the Hindus began to make their measurements from the vernal equinox in Revati there existed a system in which the year commenced with the winter solstice in the month of Magha and the vernal equinox was in the last quarter of Bharani or the beginning of the Krittikas." He points out that in the Taittiriya Samhita, Taittiriya Brahmana and other works the Krittikas are described as the face of the stars मुखं वा एतन्नक्षत्राणां यत्कृत्तिकाः । But may I venture to say that the Gita preserves for us the oldest tradition and refers to the time when the full moon night in Margasirsha was the first night of the year? The important point to remember is that the Lord speaks of himself as the Margasirsha among the months and as *Vasanta* among the seasons. This Juxtaposition shows that the vernal equinox was on the Margasirsha full-moon day and that the spring season was at that time. Tilak says "For if we suppose the Margasirsha full-moon to be the new year's night, in the sense that the vernal equinox occurred on that date we must make the asterism of Abhijit coincide with the vernal equinox. This gives us about 20000 years B. C. for the period when these positions would have been true." We need not be staggered by such a figure. In the Srimad Bhagavata (XI,16, 27) Lord Krishna says, 'I am Margashirsha among the months and Abhijit among the Nakshatras."

Literary and Educational.

The Problem of Industrial Education.

By P. ANANTHASWAMY.

It is admitted on all hands that the first great impetus to Indian national awakening came with the celebrated education despatch of 1854. It therefore deserves to be ever kept green in our memories as the fitting fore-runner of our unsolicited Magna Charta, viz., the Queen's Proclamation of 1857. But, as in the case of the latter, a variety of causes have thwarted the fructification of one of the noble aims bodied forth in that despatch, to wit, the intention to equip us for industrial and commercial careers on a large scale and thereby to add to our national wealth and productive capacity. That intention runs thus :—

"This knowledge will teach the natives of India the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital, rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and gradually, but certainly, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy development of wealth and commerce."

The plump and chubby lad who was thus expected to be the herald of material independence, plenty and prosperity

to India, has been destined to be still-born ; and in his place we find large sections of the people eager to devour each other, as superfluous Civil Officers or as yet more more superfluous and litigation-fostering lawyers captivating their clients' imaginations with the oft-mocking prospect of ingenious short-cuts to glorious and permanent victories, or as sorry teachers living in artificial atmospheres, and among other things, good or bad, pumping out their own life-blood and that of their tender wards, as best they can ; or as doctors more or less desecrating their noble profession with too much of a regard for the ponderousness of their fees and apathetically looking on while thousands of those who cannot afford the fees are packed off to the other world like lumber, or as Engineers, several of whom consider the people's money to be their own and who fill the country with grey or red and monotonous buildings—buildings whose precise and formalistic outlines would appear to be a mockery of the massive pillars, the exquisite statues and the flowing tracery of the indigenous temples and other monuments of the Pre-British ages with which the country is everywhere studded. Side by side with this process of mutual competition and devastation and with that of self-annihilation in the embraces of that tempting Siren which is known as self-indulgence and which marks out those that too easily and undeservedly attain to sudden affluence, has been the drain of the country's wealth to almost every enterprising market of the globe. This drain has been in the shape of raw products which this country does not know how to utilise to the best possible advantage or in the shape of profits which accrue from India either naturally or by virtue of emasculating excise duties. Is it or is it not a sad thing that we should be deprived under our very eyes, of the valuable raw products which are our most precious assets and left to fight for the meagre crumbs that fall from our own tables ? Take any department of industry, mining or manufacture, we find we are seriously hampered and handicapped at every step. We are not permitted to provide or manage the material or the machinery employed in the working of the industries of the land. Many are in the service of foreign capitalists and employers. This solitary fact is proof positive and practical to show that more than sixty years of English Education has not enabled us to rise above being a nation of coolies and that such education hardly deserves to be counted as a factor in Indian Social evolution.

As a nation Indians are poor and our Government has for some reason or other, been pursuing in matters industrial, a gripping and close-fisted policy. They have refrained from fostering our native industries or introducing new ones. They rest content with merely giving us "information and advice" and by this means expect to usher in an era of industrial development. In this connection, I cannot do better than quote the following criticism which appeared some time ago in the *Madras Mail*, from the pen of Mr. G. A. Chambers, on the order of the Madras Government, intimating their readiness to develop the country's industries, with "information and advice :"—

"I have just read the Madras Government Order and I fancy that many others will share my thoughts after its reading. I would like to ask what solid advance in the establishment of new Indian industries can in reason be expected, if the assistance of Government is to be limited to the giving of information and advice ? Is it by such means only that industries have been established in other countries ?

State protection is too much to hope for or expect, but state aid could be given in many ways--by Government orders for State requirements ; by bounties on production ; by guaranteeing interest on capital for a limited number of years ; by loans at low interest ; by exemption from taxation for a period ; by gifts of sites ; by purchase of shares. In these and other ways, Government could by so associating themselves with private enterprise, do a great deal to promote and encourage industrial development and, if help of some practical nature could be relied on, then some solid industrial advances might in reason be expected to result. But, so long as Government assistance is restricted to "information and advice," German and Austrian manufacturers, even after the war, will have, I am sure, small need to concern themselves about Indian industrial competition." It is thus clear that no amount of information and advice would enable us to oust foreign manufacturers from the Indian market.

There are some educated men among us who are thoroughly enamoured of the industrial status and dignity of India and who ever and anon sing the State pæans based on the surpassing wealth and beauty of its natural resources. Such pæans have been the monotonous theme of guests and visitors alike. Few as yet have paused to think of what use such wealth and beauty to a Government and a people that are incapable of turning it to the best advantage possible, any more than the casting of pearls before swine has ever been of any use. It is my deep-rooted conviction that gifts of nature, however rare, are only as good as if they were non-existent, so long as they are not properly appreciated and turned to useful account. I stick to this conviction the more especially as I incline to the view that, if only man can attain to the full height of his potential abilities and unravel all the mysteries of creation, there is no spot of earth which cannot be converted into the heaven which now exists only in our imagination and which we locate elsewhere than in the globe we inhabit. Considered in this light, those who extol the natural resources of India inflict a cruel wrong on its population since their eulogies inevitably lead to a mythical notion of the inseparability of such resources from a high degree of popular prosperity.

There are some others who confidently assert that to improve the country's industrial status we must plunge straightway into an industrial and economic survey. That would be putting the cart before the horse. We all know that in serious cases, skilful physicians always begin by giving their patients strong purgatives first. Industrial therapeutics have their purgatives also which are intended to eliminate those silly yet momentous rivalries and high-soaring and evil passions. These latter are calculated to defeat or retard the action of the potent drugs they employ. To be plain, what is first wanted is not a survey of the above sort but what I would call *men-survey* with a view to wean away from the public service and the bar all superfluous and unfit persons who might well address themselves to such manual or controlling operations as they may be fitted for. It is a notorious fact that the average Indian mind is imitative more of the ways of its own kith and kin than of anything else and that it has never yet completely emerged from that shell of morbid prudence which was its bulwark in the troublous times of Indian History. Hence manly enterprise and originality in the western sense of the words are as yet unknown to it. The aim of Government must therefore be to restrict the number betaking themselves to higher education to the actual needs of the public service and the bar. At present, the glamour and sweetness of wealth and power are too much even for the sons of hereditary agriculturists and are fast drawing them out of the province which is at once their legitimate one and the one in which they are bound to excel.

The evils of a too widespread higher education in upsetting the long-established occupations of the people can be remedied only by the superfluous portion of the higher educated reverting to their hereditary occupations and suppressing their frothy and new-born vanities and evil passions ; by a sufficient number of our young men seeking their fortunes with manly enterprise in less populated tracts of the world ; and by the Government creating the counter-blast of a new glamour through the initiation of industrial work-shops formed after the western model. Technical education of a theoretical and practical nature, the formation of industrial organisations among the trained artisans of each district, the grant of industrial loans, the starting of organs for the diffusion and dissemination of industrial knowledge—all these should follow, *not* precede the opening of workshops by Government. None but these methods would be the true ballast against the stagger into which the Ship of State in India has been thrown and the true antidote to the poison of discontent, vanity and vexation of spirit that has been injected into the body-corporate. If that ship be not steadied or the action of the poison counteracted the world would one day hear of a total submergence of the said ship amidst the dark and yawning whirlpools of destruction or of all life in the said body being burnt up by the quick-consuming venom men-

tioned above. Mind it is workshops the expenses of which are met by Government from top to bottom that is wanted. We do not want idle exhibitions or experimental farms or schools teaching industrial theories or complacently delivering lectures on what is being done in other parts of the world. Such exhibitions, farms or schools do nothing more than waste the people's money to show up the Government in the false light of their benefactor.

India should make herself honourably wealthy and able to look any nation in the face, with that manliness, confidence and self-reliance which useful and practical knowledge and dexterity alone can afford. Will our Princes and other moneyed men take the lead and set the example? Will they cure themselves of the popular defect of making large promises for the sake of mere appearance? Our Government too share in the lethargy or indifference of the people for, certainly it is not too much to suppose that a stimulus from them would be in vain. Hence it seems to me highly desirable that we should shake off the torpifying influences of our present system of higher education. These influences can be compared only to those which the waters of Lethe exerted on Satan's crew. In the firm hope that the impeccability of the end I have in view will fully justify the means I employ, I have no hesitation to borrow Satan's own nefarious exhortation to them,

"Awake! arise! or be for ever fallen!"

Random Thoughts.

By. S. Amudachari.

I am here to sing thee songs
In this hall of thine I have a corner seat.
In thy world I have no work to do;
My useless life can only break out in
times without a purpose.—Gitanjali:

Individual freedom has always been respected. Liberty the sign of Renaissance has heralded the dawn of a new spirit whenever rigid systems went beyond their limit of perfect recovery. Cramped conventions cannot fetter organic growth pulsating with life and movement. As with all organic growths, so with human systems, restraint fulfills its purpose, but partially and even aids to their rapid development. Powerful movements have been the result of an undue desire to drive underground channels of legitimate feeling and thought. The inner soul in man has always struggled against the tightening grip of its shackles. The longing for freedom is the ultimate expression of an idea.

Idea is force and ideas have ruled the world. Physical violence is nought before an unbending will, the destinies of Kingdoms and empires have been moulded by the resolute will of a conqueror. The history of a nation is the history of its heroes who acted in conformity to its ideals and fought in a world of ideas. Greece had her culture, Rome her wealth, and Egypt her beauty, India has her spirituality, and Europe, rampant materialism. But all the world must be united by the bond of Universalism. The progress of nations should be towards the attainment of the sum total of human happiness. A narrow sense of patriotism cannot hinder the striving after a higher ideal. The gospel of eternal love cannot be a mere dream. Men in their social relations seek mutual help. The barriers of rigid conservatism which set community against community are being slowly broken down. A new spirit has been infused into the minds of men.

* * *

Literature has always appealed to all thinking men. The finer shades of human life and character are not apparent to all on the surface; but to the poet who goes deep into the feelings and thoughts of men, and their subtle emotions and generous impulses—it is not difficult to discover them. For he lives in a world of ideas. The classical bard of ancient fame attuned himself to the glittering verses of the poet. Ancient classics is full of rich and melodious song majestic in its rhythmic movement. Realistic scenes of love and of life pass before the mind's eye in panoramic succession. Now it is the grandeur of the King's Court or the description of a natural scenery; now of the romance of its heroes or of the conflicts that ensue. The glory of the past appeals to the imagination and the verses of the poet reflect the distant past into the living present.

* * *

It was Keats that said "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever." Beauty cannot be analysed. With a few bold strokes of the pen the artist produces a beautiful effect, while a fastidious care for the details at the beginning destroys it. The art of suggestion is the most effective method in Poetry and in Painting, as well as in Music and other fine arts. Well-formed contours and suggestive curves are all that go to make up the ideal of Symmetry. Notes of rich melody seem to continue to vibrate in our ears for a much longer period than they really do. The music lingers in the air, and the mind continues to dwell in the world of song. The pause is rich with emotion. The distant landscape with its blue hills and green trees in dear profile against the background of the cloudless sky 'lends enchantment to the view.' It is beauty at best—unadorned. Natural scenery and refreshing landscapes enrapture the soul of man and the "music of the spheres" is not lost to him who contemplates on the eternal.

* * *

Love enters into one's heart imperceptibly, and with the dawning of love, the bud of life opens. Love scorns to reason. It is supreme in its heights of bliss. It clings to the object of its adoration, like the creeper that entwines the tree. The mind dwells upon familiar scenes and fondly turns to the image of its desires. Man enshrines in his heart the image of his love. To him it is often a source of inspiration in his continual striving towards the Infinite. Love clears the way for him of many difficulties. It solves for him intricate complexities in human life. It urges him on towards the distant goal and sustained by the spirit of love, he lives.

Woman has always a soothening influence on the mind of man. As the poet said of her "She is one half woman, one half dream." She is essentially artistic in her temperament. The colours please her. "Nature bedecks her form with beautiful flowers. The sea gives its pearls, the mines their gold, and poets ever sing in praise of her immortality." Her love like the tendrils ever seeks the object to which it can cling, while her individual love finally blossoms into the universal.

* * *

"Crescent Moon" is a picture book of beautiful sketches all about children and children's ways. To children, the world is like a garden full of beautiful flowers Like butterflies they flit in the happy sunshine of the light morning. "They build their houses with sand and they play with empty shells. With withered leaves they weave their boats and smilingly float them on the vast deep..." They are so harmless, and innocent. "They know not how to swim; they know not how to cast nets. Pearl-fishers dive for pearls, merchants sail in their ships, while children gather pebbles and scatter them again. They seek not for hidden treasures, they know not how to cast nets." Man alone is greedy.

* * *

Some are busy about nothing, some sit silent and think, while yet a few others dream. The dream state

is a subconscious feeling of the reality of life-movement. Dreams are empty nothings, but the mind often realises a great joy, an ineffable happiness in that state. They cannot be clutched; and much less is it possible 'to strain the sweetness out of them.'

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Interpretation of life has been always varied and and different. Idealistic thoughts smile in one's face promising a happy turn for the morrow, while the tyranny of facts dispels it. Never is there a greater struggle in the soul of man, than the conflict between Realism and Idealism. There is in nature, such a thing as the balance of forces. Perfection is combined with imperfection, beauty entwined with ugliness, and lofty Idealism, combined with stern reality. But life is regulated by its laws, for only then can harmony be woven out of discord, and the world itself be made fit for man to live in.

Agricultural.

Land-Problems in India.

By. V. Rangaswami Iyengar.

The basic principle underlying the Hindu polity must be clearly understood so that the nature of land administration may be properly brought home to our minds. In a civilised society every social organisation is purposive, having certain definite end to be achieved. To understand an institution is to have a clear grasp of the ideal which that institution intends to realise. The foundation on which the Hindu social organisation rests is Dharma (conduct based on the authority of the Veda). The distinction made in the Western Jurisprudence between positive and moral Law is foreign to the Hindue Jurisprudence, as the conduct of the Hindu, be he a prince or peasant in matter civil or religious, is said to affect his ultimate destiny. From the following observations of Dr. Gurudas Banerjee (Tagore Law Lectures: 'Marriage and Stridhanam') it will be evident that a Hindu Prince was not a dictator to impose his will upon the governed like the Roman Emperor whose edicts, as Professor Sidgewick puts it, "As supreme Magistrates gradually become indistinguishable from laws until after Diocletian (A. D. 305) all legislative authority is recognized as centred in his hands;" but the Hindu sovereign, on the other hand, is only a living symbol of the State whose function it is to protect Dharma (Virtue). "The Hindu regards his laws" says Dr. Banerjee "as commands not of any political sovereign but of the supreme Lord of the world, commands which every political sovereign is most imperatively enjoined to obey. As obedience to the law implied only obedience to the Divine will, it never wounded the pride of the absolute despot, and the thought never entered the mind of a Hindu king that he could, if he chose, alter or abrogate any of the existing law. The highest possible ambition of a Hindu ruler was to govern according to primeval law and the most perfect type of administrative ability which the imagination of a Hindu poet could conceive was the power to lead without the least deviation in the beaten track marked out by Manu.

Inasmuch as every Hindu State was moulded after the picture drawn in the sacred writings of the Hindus, we have to know what guidance these writings give us in respect of State in its relation to land.

When the Hindu race began its career of civilisation, history is not yet able to tell. There has recently appeared a very learned article headed "Self-Government in ancient India" in the pages of "Sanskrit Research" (Vol. II No. 1 July 1916) a quarterly journal devoted to research work in all fields of Indian antiquity which gives valuable information as to the state of civilisation and political organisation in the Vedic times. We refer here to a few salient points from the article which bring to us much enlightenment on the subject. The article quotes Vedic passages to show that the polity designed in the Vedas was highly conducive to the happiness of the people especially of the rural population and that the sovereign is enjoined to carry out loyally whatever is sanctioned by public opinion to which sacredness is attached. The Atharva-Veda and Rig-Veda are said to mention three kinds of assemblies: namely, Vedatha or sacrificial assembly, Samiti or the village community of elders and the Sabha or the popular assembly or the great Congress of the Nation.

The two latter institutions according to the article "commanded very great respect and extreme sympathy throughout our Vedic Empire; as they were deemed to be of sacred and of divine origin in that, they are said to be the two daughters of Prajapati (Atha. V. VII. 12-1) more especially was owing to the integrity, conscientious work and unimpeachable conduct of the President and the members."

A Vedic passage says, "Homage to the assemblies and to your Lords," President of the assemblies (White Yajur Veda V. 124). The Sama-Veda contains hymns in praise of all crafts and trades in the following terms: "Homage to the prudent merchant, homage to your carpenters and to you chariot makers, homage to you potters and to you blacksmiths." The Rig-Veda (IX 112-1) declares that "there are innumerable varieties of pursuits in which persons are employed and multifarious are their thoughts and plans in respect of their several vocations." These formed the village communities and the heads of these families were the village elders. The National assembly or the Sabha is constituted of the representatives of village communities.

Prayers are offered to Gods, Indra and Agni, for plenteous wealth, for extensive live stock of cattle and steeds, for strength of heroic sons, and for land full of various seeds. The National assembly constituted of the representatives of the village communities, is directed in the Rig-Veda to elect the king.

Let all the people wish for that (X. 173—1) "The king so elected was, before his consecration ceremony, compelled to take an oath that he would forfeit everything if ever he committed unjustly any injury to any of his subjects (Ait. Br. VIII. 15.) The principle underlying the Vedic polity is embodied in the Rig-Veda, in these short but pregnant words—"The king for the people." The king is said to have presided over the village assemblies when important matters came before them for consideration. Prayers are offered to Gods to forgive them for sins of commissions and omissions they might have during the debate in the assemblies." "Each fault (short-coming)" says the White Yajur-Veda (XX. 17) in the assembly...... that we have done......even of that sin thou (Surya) art the expiation." The following are the most important rules contained in the Rig-Veda for the guidance of the king, the council of elders and the people. "To assemble in Samiti and Sabha together—

"To be of one voice.

"To be of one mind and all to be of one accord.

"To remember that the Samiti is common to all. (This shows that the village-communities are not sectarian in purpose.)

"To see that every member of the Samiti and Sabha is of one opinion. To discern the intent and

purpose of the whole Samiti and Sabha. To be ever of one and the same resolve.

"To be of one heart.

"To have a king of the choice of the people or wished for by the people. To have due respect for the authority of the king and to see that he is never dethroned.

"Let no wicked person ever govern or lord it over them."

A matter of vital importance in the determination of its land policy of a State is that which relates to the ownership and this question has been settled after elaborate examinations by Vedic Exigists.

What constitutes the essence of property is laid down in the following two maxims of Jaimini, the father of Hindu Jurisprudence (Purva-Mimamsa Adhikarana).

Pages 344 and 345-346 Tagore Law Lectures By K. L. Sircar, maxims regarding property—

1. "The disposing power belongs only to the owner. Of that only, one has the disposing power of which one is the owner, other things not being within his competency."

The following principles have been derived from the above by later writers.

1. Property can never be in abeyance.

2. Property must be vested in some person, real or ideal.

3. Ownership is extinguished by sale, gift, death, degradation and change of religious order.

4. Property is for enjoyment and acts of religious merits.

5. Every one is capable of acquiring or holding property.

2. "The maxim that there is no ownership in the King to the soil which constitutes his dominion." (This is known as Sarvadekshima maxim).

The maxim cannot be better explained than in the language of Nilakantha. He says :—

"It is stated in the sixth book of the Purva-Mimamsa that the whole earth cannot be given away by the king of the world, neither the whole mandala (dependency) by the ruler of that dependency. The ownership in each village field and the like of the whole earth or the dependency belongs solely to the repective Bhumikars or landlords."

The ruler has only to take the taxes. Hence on what is now technically called a gift of land, a gift of soil is not accomplished, but only a grant of due allowance (is provided) etc.

Mr. Colebrooke's observations on this Adhikarana are as follow :—A question of considerable interest, as involving the important one concerning property in the soil of India, is discussed in the sixth lecture. At certain sacrifices such as that which is called Visvajit, the votary for whose benefit the ceremony is performed is enjoyned to bestow all his property on the official priests. It is asked whether a paramount sovereign shall give all the land including pasture-ground, highways and the site of lakes and ponds ; a monarch, the earth and a subordinate Prince, the entire province over which he rules ? To this question the answer is :—The monarch has no property in the earth nor the subordinate prince in the land. By conquest kingly power is obtained and property in the house and field belonging to the enemy." This maxim of the law that "the king is the lord of all excepting sacerdotal wealth" concerns his authority for correction of the wicked and protection of the good etc. In another place the eminent commentator and jurist says as follows :—"But in purchase made from the Bhumikars or owners even ownership in house and soil accrues."

Manu and other great law-givers follow Jaimini and restrict right of kings to taking of taxes only."

The type of polity described in the Institutes of Manu and other Smritikaras is but a systematised and enlarged form of that presented in the Vedas. These institutes also tell us that the village government was the integral part of the central State and there was nothing wanting on the part of the latter in promoting agriculture and general welfare.

The undermentioned passages from Manu do declare in an emphatic manner that the ownership to the soil is vested in the cultivator but not in the State.

Chapter IX :—"Sages who know former times consider this earth (Prithvi) as the wife of king Prithu and thus they pronounce cultivated land to be the property of him who cut away the wood or who cleared and tilled it."

Chapter VIII. mentions particulars relating to private ownership. To give publicity to the right of private ownership Manu requires 6 formalities to be observed, when land is sold. (1) The assent of towns-men. (2) The assent of kindred. (3) The assent of neighbours. (4) The assent of heirs. (5) The delivery of gold. (6) The delivery of water.

Is it not owing to ignorance and prejudice that tribal characteristics are attributed to the Vedic society ? The tribal community according to sociological science is that which has least experience of this tangible world and has vague impressions of the world intangible.

We select here a few sentences which give a good sketch of the Vedic civilisation from "The literary remains of Goldstucker,"—a scholar of world-wide reputation, to remove all erroneous impressions regarding that civilisation. He says :—The social condition of the Hindus as reflected by the hymns of this Veda (Rig-Veda) is not that of pastoral or nomadic people, but on the contrary betrays an advanced state of civilisation. Frequent allusion is made in them to towns and cities, to mighty kings and their prodigious wealth. They also prove that the Hindus of that period were not only familar with the ocean, but sometimes must have been in naval expeditions.

The wordings of Manu in respect of raising of land revenue might, at the outset, lend colour to the theory of rent, if viewed from the stand-point of modern canons of finance ; for he says, "A king may take the grain, an eighth part, a sixth or the twelfth part according to the difference of the soil and the labours necssary to cultivate it."

But in the face of the express injunctions of Manu and other jurists restricting the king's right to levy tax and fixing the ownership on land to owners or Bhumicars, it is wrong to hold that the Hindu king was ever permitted to claim ownership to the soil and to collect his dues in the shape of rent. Moreover it is clearly laid down that king acquires ownership to the land or houses only by purchase from land-holders or Bhumicars and his right is confined to the appropriation of tax in the manner indicated in the sacred writings.

Explanation for taking a portion of the produce from each field is to be sought for in the ideal conception of the ancients respecting distribution of national income about which the modern statesmanship in spite of earnest endeavours is still unable to evolve a practical scheme to establish peaceful relations among the discordant elements that are threatening the very foundation of the Western society. According to that

ideal a man's income is expected to be divided into six equal parts of which one part should go to the king, who on that account is called Shad-Bhagi (a claimant to the sixth share). The other claimants are priests, Gods, family, relations and friends, guests and humanity including animal kingdom. Could every other sharer then claim ownership to the soil?

There is no shadow of doubt whatever that the Hindu kings recognised private ownership. The States in those days used to remunerate civil and military officers of all grades not by payments in cash from State treasury. The system adopted was this. Each high officer was authorised to collect a portion of the tax direct from the village officials, which portion covered the salary of his office fixed by the State. From the Viceroys downwards the salaries were given in this manner. The assignments of *revenue* (not land) were of a village, district or province and this line of action is indicated in Manu. "Let the lord of ten towns enjoy the produce of two-plough lands or as much ground as can be tilled with two ploughs each drawn by six bulls. The lord of twenty that of ten ploughs etc., (by produce is meant the revenue derivable from the land to the Crown). Besides grant of land revenue of certain fields, villages or groups of villages were made for the encouragement of agriculture and industries, of religion and literature and for the protection of the orphan, the old, infirm, and others incapable of supporting themselves. Can this system, which answered well to the conditions of the ancient times, be acceptable to the modern statesmanship confronted as it is with problems of very taxing nature brought about by the present complex civilisation? Or is it possible for us to go back to the ancient days? To use the ancient and decayed fiscal system for the purpose of collecting revenue alone is certainly objectionable and injurious to national well-being.

Miscellaneous

Vale.

The present number of *The Nation and The Athenaeum* is the last for which the company of journalists who founded it more than sixteen years ago, with their more recent associates, will be responsible. So long an association would seem to excuse, or even to warrant a word of parting. During the entire period of its existence, *The Nation* has remained an independent paper, a journal "of the Opposition." The problems of the Great War, and of the years of its preparation, no less than the state of art and letters, and the reflections of those activities on the faith and practice of our times, have seemed to us to call less for the acceptance of existing standards than for a candid examination of them. In fact the life of *The Nation* has hung upon three capital issues on each of which it has offered an individual opinion. So long as the European war was avoidable, we endeavoured to avoid it. From the hour when it had become an outrage on humanity, we strove to end it by a peace of negotiation. And when it died of defeat and exhaustion, we pleaded for a settlement in harmony with the professions of all its combatants, and reconcilable with their religion and their ideas of the civilised order. These efforts failed. They could not, in fact, have succeeded save by a *plebiscite* of the armies, or, in the alternative, by a miraculous enlightenment of the statesmen of the peoples who knew not what they did or whither they were being led. He who sows seed in the minds of men must have the eye of a hawk to see where it falls, and the vision of a God to discern whether its fruit be good or evil. But of the words we addressed to the readers of *The Nation* from 1907 to 1919, we wish only those unsaid which faltered in their plea for peace, or left the pith and marrow of their message undelivered.

The second subject matter of *The Nation* has been closely akin to the first. That is the social question. The Great War was the child of a Greater and a Longer War, and from its womb has sprung, in premature delivery, the Social Revolution. We have not always found it possible to treat this problem adequately within the strict lines of Liberal doctrine. But we have endeavoured to apply to it the spirit of Liberalism, which is, we think, a larger and more fruitful thing. By itself and within itself, the exissing Liberal party, cruelly shocked and acutely divided by the War, lacks the power to resolve the great dilemma of modern statesmanship. That is—How to revise the industrial contract without destroying it? So far as Liberalism is an invitation to freedom of the mind, to toleration, to the enrichment of personality, to the search for diversity in the social structure and in the intellectual conception of the State, it remains an element of value in the work of reconstruction. But to the extent to which it ceases to be a mass-force in our political life, it must be content to cede to the Labour party a large share of the promise of the future. The two forces need not antagonise each other, and should only do so if the liberal party, fail to measure the industrial crisis, or to seize its true character, or if the workers use their political power, as the Bolshevists have done, to enforce an unmixed collectivist solution. But there is a sense in which the rule of pure capitalism is no longer on its trial. It has been morally judged, and in the light of that judgment progressive editors and writers will have to walk if they would survive as directors, or even as interpreters, of their age. Our successors in the conduct of *The Nation* will state their own views. We have stated ours, familiar as they must be to the unseen companions of sixteen years of labour, as the *envoi* of an affectionate farewell.

—*The Nation and The Athenaeum. April, 28.*

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